[P. 56a] Wukchumni / Western Mono NS25

Y 101 although their main village was Yeitao (Local Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another 131 village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther Y north than Lindcove.

438 The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine Y acorns of the black oak.

To the east the Wukchumni went into Pat- [223 wisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with 439] them to make shelters, then sold them to the Y Patwisha, who lacked tule.

The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the [222] southwest, where magnificent groves of oak abounded, to get acorns when there was a short- age in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the Y above-mentioned tribes.

439 The Tachi from the lake bought burden baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels 437 from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was east- ● Y ward, of commodities westward.

Very little that is definite can be M learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe 177 to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant ● [191] J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village M where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood [105] mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Pat- wisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other in- formants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and cultural- ly richer Yokuts neighbors and that they dis- appeared entirely during the flux and pressure Y of white encroachment.

439 The Eastern Mono, called Mona ʻči by the 648 Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders. In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (waʻtat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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Lake, and whose numerals, and therefore speech, he recognized as distinctively non-Yokuts. Inquiry proves that the survivor had been at one of the missions, had there learned more or less Salinan, and that some of its vocables suggested to him Yokuts words of entirely different meaning. He used to regale his friends with accounts of his travels; and his rattling off the Salinan count as a meaningless string of Yokuts words became a well-known entertainment; much as we might amuse a child with a tale of a strange people called the Spanish who counted "You-know, toes, tray, quarrel." Here are the Salinan originals and his puns:

kitol, kishile	kile.
kakichu	choyochi.
lapai	uyatsi.
kicha	chuicha. (a place name).
olchat, ulchao	lopchin-tiniu (at the fish hole).
painel, payat	pokoichin-tiniu.
te, tepa	tuhtu.
sanel	pusin-tiniu (at the dog's hole).
tetatsoi	hoeche.
tsoe	chiwa.

TRIBES OF THE POSO CREEK GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Paleuyami, Padeuyami, Peleuyi, or, as they were called by their Shoshonean neighbors, Paluyam, had their headquarters in the hills beside Poso Creek, especially at Altau ("salt-grass place"), which lay just south of this stream about as far up in the hills as K'ono-ilkin or Kern Falls, to which place, and adjacent sites on Kern River, they, as well as the Yauelmani of the valley, appear to have come. They had also Bekiu and Shikidapau (*shikid*, "arrow") in Poso Flat, and Holmiu in Linn's Valley.

The Kumachisi, Komechesi, Kometsiosi, or Kumachesi (plural Kumachwadi) centered about Hoochiu on White River. They were sometimes known as the Small Paleuyami, the Altinin of Altau being the Great Paleuyami. Some informants identify them with the obscure Shoshonean tribe called the Giamina, whose habitat is said to have been in or near the Paleuyami territory. The majority of the Kumachisi probably knew more than one language; as to whether their native dialect was of the Paleuyami type, or of the valley division, or indeed not Yokuts at all but Shoshonean, there is no certain evidence.

TRIBES OF THE TULE-KAWEAH GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Yaudanchi or Yaulanchi (plural Yauedchani or Yawilchini), also called Nutaa (plural Nuchawayi), "easterners, uplanders"—whence Garcés's generic designation of the Yokuts as Noche—held Tule River in the foothills, especially the North and Middle Forks. One of their principal winter quarters was Shawahtau, above Springville. Near by was Ukunui ("drink"); and house pits at Uchiyingetau ("markings") at the painted rocks, and at Tungoshud ("gate") near the agency, on Tule River Reservation, hark back to either Yaudanchi or Bokninuwad occupancy. In spring and early summer they gathered seeds in the vicinity of Lindsay; in late summer or fall they met with other tribes in Koyeti territory about Porterville for fishing and elk hunting. In dry and hungry seasons the southern end of Tulare Lake would be frequented in search of tule roots. All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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strated vigorously, would probably soon depart of his own accord. 584
If a marriage took place, the husband lived with his wife's people. 591
This is rather remarkable in view of the fact that most and probably 611
all the Yokuts reckoned descent paternally with reference to exogamy and totemism. As usual in loosely organized society, polygamy 595
was not considered objectionable, but was not the common fortune of men and women, probably because there was no noteworthy excess of females. A man with several wives seems normally to have been married in as many villages, dividing his time between his various households. Kindred of any known degree of relationship, except 582
perhaps one class of cousins, were ineligible to marriage; and, what is more interesting, accidental namesakes as well. The Yokuts state that people of the same tribe and town could marry, and this is confirmed by the parentage of old living Indians; but the vast majority of such specific records reveal marriages between people not of the same tribe. This habit is the more peculiar because the dialects of the tribes always differed somewhat; at the same time, the practice must have been a factor of some influence in preventing the rapid drifting apart of the idioms. Naturally, many of the Yokuts were [191] ●
bilingual; and persons knowing three or four dialects, or even distinct languages, are not rare.

Children-in-law and parents-in-law exhibit mutual shame. They 606
avoid speaking, though inmates of the same house; walk apart; and do not even approach each other unless it is absolutely necessary.

MOIETIES AND TOTEMS.

In addition to the politically exogamic tendency, there was a strict 582
rule requiring a man to marry outside his own inherited social divi- 616
sion. These divisions were two, and certain animals were symbolically
associated with each and transmitted from father to child and son's [611]
child. In other words, the totemic moiety system of the Miwok extends also to the Yokuts. It has been found among hill and valley 616
tribes from the Chukchansi to the Wowol. Only the Yaudanchi and [184]
Yauelmani, and with them no doubt some of their immediate neighbors, did not possess the organization. For the extinct valley tribes north of the Fresno River there are no data, but their associations with their own kinsmen to the south, as well as with the upland Miwok, render it extremely probable that the same scheme prevailed among most if not all of them. In fact, the existence of a similar organization among the Mono on the east and probably among the Salinan Indians to the west, together with the reappearance of exogamous moieties in southern California, place the Yokuts more centrally than the Miwok as regards the known distribution of this so-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER XI

LANGUAGE AND NAMES

YOKUTS LANGUAGE

The most fascinating feature of any primitive people is almost certain to be their language. Primitive language has many characteristics which appear peculiar to persons who speak written languages. Most noticeable of all features of primitive language are the many sounds which do not occur in modern tongues and which are difficult for us to produce. 191

Primitive sounds consist of clicks made by the teeth, grunts, clucking and snapping with the tongue, and blowing through the throat. In the Yokuts dialects a coughed H is met with. These sounds are also sometimes accompanied by grimaces. In addition there are practically all of the sounds included in a civilized language. We are told that the dialects of some of the tribes of South Africa contain almost all of these primitive sounds. One word may involve, in addition to gutturals, a click of the teeth and a snap of the tongue. 194

Primitive people are generally able to reproduce practically all of the sounds of a civilized language, but it is surely amusing to hear a person who speaks a modern language attempt some of the more involved primitive sounds. It brings quite forcibly to one's mind the fact that the tendency of civilization has been to simplify the sounds involved in languages.

Consider for example the *K'hoo'-sheem* (north) of the Yokuts. The first syllable was pronounced with the mouth and throat open and was accompanied with cough and a blowing sound deep in the throat. When a white person opens his mouth and throat, the sound stops. The writer practiced for many months before he could say K'hoo'-sheem correctly and loud enough to be heard ten feet away. An Indian could yell it so as to be heard distinctly two hundred yards away.

The word *T'hoo'-k'wheel* (west) is even worse. It is accompanied by two coughs, with the throat open. When attempted by a white person, it generally results in two almost noiseless efforts.

The word for distance is most interesting. In many Indian tongues it has the same characteristics. If you ask a

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

gotten them. That village, *Che'-oo-tak*, I think was the one on Cameron Creek three or four miles north of Tulare, not south. I heard lots of times about an old place there, right close to where the railroad crosses now, but I am not sure about the name.

Finally we got tired of staying at "Fish" Rice ranch. We wanted to go back to Tulare Lake. We went back three or four times for visits when we could ask somebody to let us go on their land. But we never got a chance to stay there. Our good friends did not have any land on the lake.

We went over to Kings River and camped near the Ezra ranch. They were always good to us and we felt right to stay there.. We have lived along Kings River, at the Santa Rosa Rancheria, and on the ranches where we worked ever since.

My mother died, and I got married and now I live with my daughter. There are lots of things I forgot about how my people lived. I speak Spanish and English, Wowol and Chunut. Then I know *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wachikit, Wukchumne, Yaudanchi, Koyeti* and some others. So I have to forget some of my old Chunut things.

The Chunut had a story about how the world was made. I never knew all of it. I heard it lots of times, too. The world was all water at first. *Chukuko*, (Choo-koo'-ko) the diver duck, and *Trawm'-cawt*, the turtle, got the mud from the bottom of the water to make the world.

Chukuko tried to get the mud and Trawmcawt helped him. The mud was thrown around to make the world. *Ki'-yoo* (Coyote), *We-itch* (Condor) and *We-ha'-sit* (Mountain Lion) were about the first people made. That is about all I remember. I am sorry I forgot it.

We called the Milky Way *Yo-hote'-sool*. It is the white place in the sky made in a race between antelope and deer.

On Kern River a big mountain is split through. Once *Wahl'-wut* (Canvasback Duck) ran a race with *Lim'-ik* (Prairie Falcon). Limik cut right through the mountain and won the race.

When we saw red clouds at sunset we used to say that it would not rain the next day.

I forgot lots about the seeds and how the Indians fixed them. They made a tea from the mint which grew in the water and from the peppermint from the mountains. They also made tea from sycamore bark. They drank it and put it on sores.

[p.6-B]

192 xapap'wiyi, "get spread out in a fanlike formation."
196 no·mo·mwiyi, "make puckering motions in and out."

192 The stylistic possibilities of these verbs for
195 creating vivid images in a concentrated manner is obvious; but not so obvious to English feeling, which delights in flashes of sharp imagery, is the sense of violence and bizarreness which these verbs suggest to the Yokuts stylistic consciousness.

193 From the perspective of Yokuts, these verbs
195 are linguistic freaks. Their grammatical form, as well as their content, is anomalous in the Yokuts system. These verbs are composed of two elements, a stem of the verb wiyi, "do, do thus," being added to another stem defining the nature of the activity. The technique of stem composition, displayed in these "do" verbs, occurs nowhere else in the language. Furthermore, a number of the "do" verbs, particularly those referring to specific sounds, contain a stem having
[192] an onomatopoetic force: ga·gwiyi, "cackle," tuhwiyi, "spit," 'uhwiyi, "cough," hihwiyi, "make a hiccuping sound," miwwiyi, "whistle through the air." Such mimetic play with sounds is not only absent elsewhere in the language, but it is out of keeping with the severe formalism of Yokuts. In their meanings, in their form, and in their phonetic mimicry, these verbs seem to be cut to the pattern of a foreign idiom. They are like an ornate Byzantine mosaic set in a Calvinistic church.

192 It is a significant comment on the directive
195 tendencies of historical drift in language that
197 these eccentric "do" verbs have been leveled out of most of the modern Yokuts dialects. Only a few petrified noun derivatives are left in these dialects to indicate that the "do" verbs were formerly common throughout Yokuts. Only in one dialect, Yauelmani, have they been found as a fully operative and productive set of verbs. But they have a peculiar status in this dialect: they are regarded as the linguistic property of chil-
124 dren. I did not become aware of this class of
192 verbs until, after two or three weeks of field
195 work, I overheard some remarks which my informant's eight-year-old son was addressing to himself. Only with the greatest difficulty could I coax my informant to explain the "do" verb which his child had used and to give me further examples of this class. It was evident that he regarded
[191] words of this type as being too silly for serious
[585] discussion and totally out of keeping with the essential sobriety of adulthood. Not until some time later did he tell me that these words were used primarily by children. But even after he had overcome his reluctance to discuss the "do" verbs, he was never able to treat them seriously. A spirit of facetiousness always accompanied our work with them.

195 The myths do not contain many examples of the
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